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ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SEX OFFENDERS*

Friedrich Leppmann†

It is obvious that a comprehensive knowledge of sex offenders is important for the judge and the social worker. We will not discuss in this article the special questions connected herewith, but something should be said regarding the work of the police. *For when the investigating officers are equipped with special knowledge as to the nature of sex offenders they are forewarned about the likelihood of certain persons having committed certain sexual crimes.*

The popular idea that a sex offender is either a brute or a libertine hardly aids in the identification of a culprit and may even lead astray. Experience has shown that an immense variety of persons are capable of committing sexual offences, owing either to personal conditions or to special circumstances. For our purpose we may dispose of this multitude by dividing them into a number of groups; in every group some outstanding type of sex offenders will be described. Bearing in mind the pictures of these types is a matter of no mere theoretical interest: it facilitates the identification of hitherto unknown malingers and is useful for the critical examination of charges against supposed offenders.

In the following paragraphs theoretical discussions will be limited to the smallest feasible space. The various

groups of sex offenders will then be described, according to the writer's and other authors' experience acquired in prison service, criminal courts, and in clinical and social work. A further paragraph will deal with the relations of sex offenders to general criminality, that is: with the questions if and where the investigator may trace out the perpetrator of a newly committed crime in the records of a formerly convicted or presumed criminal. Finally the practical conclusions will be summarized.

The problem, however, would be too much entangled if we included all the offenses marked by the law as "sex crimes." We shall deal only with three categories: exhibitionism, sexual misuse of children, and accomplished or attempted rape (The second category, of course, includes some cases which might be counted as incest and pederastic crimes: namely, sexual intercourse with immature daughters or sisters or with small boys. The third category likewise includes the violently enforced intercourse with daughters or sisters).

None of these categories of the criminal law represent a unit with regard to the nature of the delinquents in question: the same crime may be committed by persons of very different qualities, and on the other hand, a single indi-

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vidual may commit crimes belonging to different legal categories. Other principles of classification, therefore, will be used in the following paragraphs.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ROOTS OF SEX OFFENSES

Generally, it may be said that these offenses in normal times are somewhat enigmatic for the average civilized and adult man. He does not want for his sexual satisfaction anything else but sexual intercourse with an adult and agreeing female, and he would not find any pleasure in exposing his genitals or in misusing a child, or in violently forcing intercourse on a resisting girl. On the other hand, however, connections between those offenses and normal tendencies can easily be discovered: the "showing" of genitals is a common game played between boys and girls before the real puberty; a boasting with the erected membrum is not infrequent among pubescent boys; and there is a wide-spread belief that the sight of such a membrum will awaken lust in girls. With regard to the misuse of children: the conception of sexual maturity is different in different regions and epochs; according to the racially or individually different stage of physical development, a girl of less than 14 years may, or may not, be able to occasionally stir the sexual desire of a man. With regard to rape: through the history of sexual relations goes a red string of force and cruelty; these features are of course faded and veiled under "normal" civilizing conditions. But experience proves how easily (e.g., in war-stricken countries) violence and cruelty may become a common feature in sexual acts.

In a certain period of *puberty* the sexual problem becomes dangerous for the youth. Still clinging to childish ideas and practices, timid and awkward with girls, he yet is exposed to sudden and urgent sexual impulses. In this period, therefore, even an otherwise decent and sane boy may commit an occasional sexual delict.

After all, it has to be expected that sexual offenses will be committed by sane persons under special circumstances, and, on the other hand, that abnormal mental conditions may frequently play a decisive part.

ABNORMAL MENTAL CONDITIONS

Let us first consider abnormal mental conditions (the term "morbid" is intentionally avoided!) which characterize certain groups of sex offenders. They can be divided into several groups.

(1) *The first group is characterized by crudeness.* It comprehends individuals who are likely to commit sex offenses because they have neither the right feeling nor the right understanding for the difference between the forbidden and the allowed sexual acts. The more refined forms of sexual relations such as "love", "wooing", "psychical contact", do not mean much for them; their sexuality is, rather, confined to the "rubbing of two organs"; so they do not much care about the age of the female or the means of overcoming her resistance. Certainly they are in some way conscious of doing wrong, but they underrate the risk of legal prosecution and punishment.

Within this group three types are outstanding: the one comprehends *imbeciles and morons*, the other *neglected*

individuals and those who are “*running wild*” (independent of the level of intelligence), and the third *degenerate drunkards*. The imbecile is unable to develop the average refinement and discernment, the neglected one has not yet the opportunity to acquire it, the drunkard gradually loses it so that finally even in sober condition his state of mind is that of a morally defective person.

Still more frequently the crudeness which causes sexual crimes is only transitory; its typical origin is the *actual effect of Alcohol*. By drunkenness even mentally normal persons are likely to lose their sexual discernment, and experience proves that in many persons even small doses of liquor are sufficient to remove an obviously thin cover of morals acquired only by training and not by genuine civilization. Alcohol rates so high as an “agent provocateur” to sexual offenses that, for instance, of 242 sex offenders explored by Kort (Psychiatric Clinic, Heidelberg, Germany) every fourth one was found to have been under alcoholic influence; among 90 such convicts in the Strafanstalt Moabit Prison in Berlin the same influence had to be reckoned with in 38 cases.

(2) *The second group is characterized by perversion*. It includes those offenders who have special perverted sexual tendencies. *Habitual exhibitionism* is based largely on such perversion. The typical exhibitionist belongs to a specific group of psychopaths, namely, the so-called “*psycho-sexually infantile*”. These are persons with a special sort of delayed maturity: the maturing

of sexual feelings does not keep pace in them with that of the body and the intellect. So they retain, even after puberty, the sexual tendencies of a child or a halfgrown boy. Occasional sexual experiences in childhood become decisive for their desires and practices in adult life. The psychical part of their sexual life continues to be more or less infantile, i.e., childish. This sort of deficiency is not always easy to detect. The general behavior of these men is not necessarily childish and timid; they may be able to maintain good social positions, and normal intercourse is possible. Moreover exhibitionists may be uncommunicative regarding their sexual life unless they have a cogent reason to break their silence.

One group of them tends to show their genitals to girls. Imagination adds lust to this habit, which in accordance with a well-known (but less well explainable) psychological law, becomes more and more powerful so that at last the exhibitionist is the victim of his acquired perversion.

Circumstances, of course, vary to a certain degree. Exhibitionists have been known who hardly felt the abnormal impulse except under the influence of alcohol; others for whom the impulse to exhibitionism was so tightly associated with the locality of their former delights that they were able to overcome the temptation as long as they avoided setting foot on those spots.

An important type of *sexual offenders against children*, the so-called “*paedophiles*,” has the same background of *psychosexual infantilism*. Two cases,

described elsewhere by the author and out of his own experience, may be quoted:

A 28-year old craftsman lured girls of 10 to 12 years who, for money, agreed to tolerate all sorts of indecencies, even coitus inter femora. His father was insane. Although having had a good school training and technical interests, and not being a drunkard, he early committed larcenies and spent years in jail. As a youngster he was timid and, besides, had only weak sexual impulses. So, for a long time, his erotic experience was limited to platonic friendships with schoolgirls. In prison, however, at the age of about 22 years, he felt stronger sexual desires. Now he would feverishly commit onanism, always imagining sexual intercourse with half-grown girls. After being released he was unable to get rid of those ideas, and finally attempted to realize them again and again. He was a nervous fellow, intelligent and educated, but effeminate and soft, with a tinge of depression. He told sentimentally how he had loved one of the girls and had recited for her fine poems.

Another man, 40 years of age and the son of a neurotic mother, was sexually enlightened and induced to onanism shortly after his school years by another boy in a workshop. The first, and for a time only, female genitals he had the opportunity to look at were those of the five-year old daughter of his employer. To this object of sexual fancy he held henceforth. He suffered six penalties on account of sexual offenses against little girls of about 5 years, and acknowledged frankly that the real number of his offenses had been much greater. He never did more than look at or touch the genitals. He was married and able to have normal intercourse but was not much interested in it—vainly trying to forget “the unnatural thing.” He was sentimental, nervous and tractable.

This special type of “lovers of children” differs greatly from the types described in the first group, with their primitivity, rashness, and carelessness. He can hardly be expected to assail a girl violently; instead he approaches them with caresses, with bribes, perhaps with tricks—and tries, often successfully, to come to terms with them.

We do not know exactly why one person psychophysically infantile becomes an exhibitionist and the other becomes a paedophile. Perhaps it depends on the special early experi-

ences which lastingly influenced the sexual tendencies of the individual. Indeed, we often have found that exhibitionistic and paedophile practices are used by the same individual.

A variety of this type is represented by certain *sex offenders against little boys*. In them probably a more complicated form of sexual immaturity has to be supposed; normal sexual development in pubescence includes a period of uncertainty about the sex of the partner to be desired; sexual feelings in this period of life include a “*homosexual component*” (which of course normally is bound to recede in due time). The degree of this component varies individually. If it appears to an unusual extent in the form of amorous friendships among boys, it can, in cases of psychosexual infantilism, determine the further sexual life of an individual. Many of the so-called homosexual offenders with boys belong in this category. We remember, for instance, a man who again and again attempted indecencies against little boys, until he was old and grey. Soft, friendly and effeminate, he suffered with gloomy resignation the vicious circle of prison, release and relapse which was his life.

The effects of psychosexual infantilism are sometimes hidden during the first period of manhood, abnormal tendencies being outbalanced by vigor and moral energy. If, however, resistance is weakened by drinking habits, long-lasting unemployment, unhappy married life, or other disruptive influences, infantile tendencies can pierce through the surface and become effective.

A further type of perverted sexual aggressor is the "sadist." An original atavistic connection, as mentioned above, exists between sexual impulse and violence; the bare name of "rape" is reminiscent of the ancient custom of abducting the bride with force. Even today sexual satisfaction is enhanced by overcoming the partner's resistance, and a scale of slight nuances exists between rudeness and the actual ability to overpower. We feel not entitled to use the word "Sadism" for every form of joyful violence but confine the use of this term to those cases where cruelty takes a conspicuous place in sexual imagination, and the orgasm is reached with help of tortures fancied or really executed.

Sadistic offenses are sometimes more brutal than dangerous. We examined a convict who met on a highway a 13-year-old girl, suddenly grabbed her by the back of the neck, stripped her and spanked her with a rod; the same man, a few months later, attacked an older girl, hit her in the back of the neck, forced her down and attempted to rape her. A strange specimen of "sadisme en deux" was illustrated by two men who enticed a girl to walk with them to a remote spot where they suddenly forced her to strip naked and to suck the membrum of the one while the other spanked her.

Sadism assumes not infrequently, especially when connected with homosexual inclinations, the appearance of educational castigations. We saw leaders of scout groups who misused their power by rough ill-treatment of boys, revealing an unmistakable background of sexual excitement.

One of them invented cruel punishment for petty insubordinations. He was an erratic psychopath, member of a distinguished family, a habitual onanist; the attitude of pluck and energy he used to display with the boys changed to whining weakness during the trial. The other one was a higher official, author of minor scientific test books, self-confident and cold: under the pretext of "hardening" the youngsters, he ordered them to endure spank-

ing on the naked buttocks, inviting them at the same time to hold fast to his erected membrum.

The most outstanding form of sadistic sexual crime is the sexual murder. It will be treated in a special paragraph close to the end of this article.

(3) *The third group is characterized by mental diseases and senility.* This group has, for the investigating officer, one common feature: the crime is mostly in striking contrast to the former personality of the offender. The purely animal instincts can break forth, independent of personality and character, in obviously pathological cases. Three categories are important.

(a) *The "Twilight-States."* No doubt a number of exhibitionistic acts, as well as assaults on children and adult women are committed in states of deeply clouded consciousness by epileptics and those under similar morbid conditions.

One of the classical cases of exhibitionism concerned a blameless man of good social position, an epileptic who during a formal party suddenly arose and, with an absent-minded expression, denuded his genitals.

Another example is the following one. A villager, known as diligent and kind, married and not a drunkard, previously convicted six years before on account of petty brawls, endured a head injury and thereafter a convulsive fit. In the same year he ran along the street, having consumed half a pint of liquor, met the wife of his own parish's minister, threw her down and tried furiously to touch her genitals; then suddenly he left her and threw himself into a ditch. He later on remembered indistinctly the events but was unable to explain his behavior. He was sentenced to eight years of penal servitude. In prison his conduct was good, his intelligence normal, but after some time he fell transiently into an anxious mood. We are sure he committed his "crime" in the unconscious state of so-called pathological drunkenness.

(b) *General Paresis.* This organic brain-disease, occurring mostly in middle-aged men, in its first stage increases the sexual irritability and im-

pairs at the same time the self-control and the refinement of moral feelings. Though otherwise still well-composed, a man in this state may commit a sexual offense perfectly opposite to his original character.

(c) *Schizophrenia*. This disease involves, more than others, delusions with a specific sexual tinge and suddenly emerging ideas or moods, the origin of which is not understandable in sane persons.

Here a remarkable category which we abstained from mentioning before may now be added: *old men who commit sexual offenses*. They are rather numerous; about every twelfth person convicted of indecencies against children is an elderly man. Most of them are physically senile, unable to indulge, or indulging only weakly, in normal sexual intercourse, and unattractive to women. Because they cannot attract women they lure children into the toleration of mutually indecent acts. It is, however, probable that they would not do so were not the controlling-inhibitory functions of their brains diminished. Another explanation for their behavior is the abnormal persistence of strong sexual impulses at an age usually characterized by sexual indifference; in fact, they often tell that the sexual desire, having vanished years before, is reawakened in the later years. That certainly means that organic symptoms are appearing with the involution of the brain. A large majority of these old men are

"first offenders." Nevertheless, psychiatric exploration in those cases seldom reveals manifest objective symptoms of senile dementia.

(4) *The fourth group is characterized by the brute and the libertine*. We mentioned before these popular types, rejecting strictly their exclusive value. As a matter of fact, a number of "brutal" types have been described in our discussion of abnormal crudeness and sex perversion. The remainder comprehends persons who, within the frame of normality, find a pleasure or a kind of glory in obscene or violent acts.

The "libertine"¹ can be characterized as a person for whom sexual pleasure is the central point of life and who, for that purpose, unscrupulously uses even the meanest ways. Fed up at last with the normal and simple sexual intercourse, he becomes hungry for new sexual excitations ("Reizhunger") and finds them perhaps in intercourse with adolescent girls, perhaps in sadistic procedures. Representatives of this type are frequently found among those who have money enough to buy every kind of pleasure. Some of these libertines are idlers who have nothing else to care for but their sensual desires. Such an idler was that Marquis de Sade whose memory is preserved in the term "sadism."

On the other side are some clever and greedy business men with airs of complete seriousness, who are accustomed to compensating themselves for

¹ Scientifically considered, the "libertine" is not properly a type. It appears that in many cases the sexual anomaly is rather cause than consequence of libertinism. Some "libertines"

are neurotics with strong sexual desire but unable to feel satisfied after the sexual act. The whole problem should be more thoroughly studied than it has been hitherto.

the strain of their daily work with nightly "orgies."

In the first decade of this century, for instance, a very rich banker was convicted of sexual intercourse with children of less than 14 years. No defect in his mental health could be found during the whole time of his detention, and he succeeded afterwards even in increasing his wealth.

For the work of the police, libertines have a special interest in yet another way: they are regular patrons of children sold into prostitution.

SEXUAL OFFENSES COMMITTED UNDER SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

Having discussed the abnormal mental conditions contributing to the commission of sexual offenses, we have now to deal with another group: persons who are by circumstance hampered in the accomplishment of their otherwise normal sexual impulses. We pass by the question of whether a real "state of emergency" could be acknowledged concerning the sexual life, although certainly a high sexual tension may arise under special conditions—which eventually discharges itself in illegal acts independent of the original inclinations of the person in question.

(1) *Lacking Opportunity for Normal Intercourse.* To come in sexual contact with a woman requires a certain degree of skill or experience and some qualities attractive to females. The possibility of buying sexual intercourse is not found everywhere and by everyone. There are *boobies* and *cripples* and *stutterers* whom the girls laugh at or are afraid of; unable to compete with other men in the struggle for sexual success, these stepchildren of nature not infrequently fall back upon

violence or attacks on children. Rape is sometimes committed by men recently released after long years spent in prison with enforced sexual abstinence. In certain communities or families, principles are reigning so strict and prudish that young men feel bound to abstain from extra-marital intercourse—until some day the primitive instincts, perhaps released by the influence of alcohol, are loosened in the commission of a sexual offense. A physical disease may handicap the exercise of real sexual intercourse without impairing the sexual desire, and compensatory indecencies with children may be the consequence. As an example we mention a middle-aged, retired officer with a disease of the spinal cord which made him impotent but apparently temporarily increased his desire; thus he was often tempted to touch the genitals of children.

(2) *Peculiarly Conducive Circumstances.* Peculiarly conducive circumstances may lead sane individuals into the commission of sex offenses. Those situations arise surprisingly often, mainly, of course, concerning crimes against children. In crowded lodgings, often with several persons obliged to sleep in a single bed, precarious situations concerning sexual promiscuity may become inevitable. Sexual curiosity and even precocious sensuality is wide-spread among pubescent girls. Little girls not seldom like to attach themselves to lone men staying in a little shop or booth, from whom they hope to get candies or money. And in many cases the "victims" betray their

own moral qualities by their readiness to lure other girls into the same adventure.

Similar circumstances form the background of some attempts at rape of adult girls.

A met the 16-year-old girl X—to quote the sentence of the jury—"in a dancing hall of the lowest class, where the sense of honor and shame is not much esteemed and where the girls themselves do not claim such respect." X, a virgin, but otherwise a girl of poor morals, who liked to sit on men's knees and listen to obscenities, accompanied A and another fellow into a dark parkway where, half-drunk, the men attempted to rape her.

B, 19 years old, a boorish moron, had had his first intercourse two years before with a mower-girl; it was in a country where those girls, hired for agricultural work in summer, used to be lodged altogether in one room, and it was quite usual that fellow workers came in at night and slept with the girls. B was initially timid but the girls themselves encouraged him to do the same thing. While slightly intoxicated he met one day a foreign mower-girl, and remembering his former experience, tried to approach her; rejected, he used force.

In all of the statistics of crimes against young girls a number of *teachers* are to be found. Kort, for instance, had 14 teachers among 141 cases (this number, however, is not quite representative, because Kort's material includes only the offenders who underwent psychiatric investigation). Certainly the temptation is great for the teacher of a class of girls. Endowed with authority, he is often the object of an erotically tinged adoration, and, on the other hand, the teacher himself is not far beyond the border of pubescence and lacking in sexual experience. He needs much self-control to refrain from gliding gradually from friendliness through tenderness and into sexual approach; once he has gone that far he most likely relapses again and again until he is trapped. Young teachers in remote villages, where they

are socially isolated and lack opportunity of intercourse with girls of legal age, are most exposed to that temptation.

One of them, who had seduced several schoolgirls, behaved blamelessly in prison and made the impression of being a decent fellow. The physician of the prison wanted to give him a chance, and made him, when the penalty was finished, a private tutor of the physician's own boys, in which position everything went well. He saw him again more than twenty years later; he had married and had managed to earn his living well.

An analogous danger exists for those teachers of boys whose feelings have a homosexual touch. Such a type is not rare among men with deeply rooted pedagogical instincts, and we saw teachers of high qualities, mature men of unquestionable idealism, succumb to the temptation of criminal erotic relationships with their pupils.

One more motive for sexual offenses against children and young girls should be mentioned, although we never succeeded in securing a person who confessed the motive: there is a widespread *superstition* that venereal diseases can be cured by intercourse with a virgin.² We ascertained that among 90 sexual offenders 10 had infected their victims with syphilis or gonorrhoea. Nevertheless, none of them declared that he had believed he would get rid of his disease by doing so, and yet such a declaration might have served as a kind of excuse. Another superstition is said to exist: that old men can be rejuvenated by intercourse with young girls, but we have never heard that excuse from senile offenders.

Closing the discussion of the individual circumstances which can be

² Recently Morland (*Crime Against Children*, London 1939) has asserted that a remarkable part of these crimes are based on superstition.

decisive for the commission of a sexual crime, we feel obliged to emphasize one general fact: every classification of human deeds is tentative, and made only to cast further light on the complex living patterns being studied. We gave a short survey of outstanding biological and sociological facts regarding sexual offenders. That is all we intended to say in the first part of this article.

RELATIONS OF THE SEX OFFENDERS TO

GENERAL CRIMINALITY

The following questions arise: What are, for every kind of sexual offense, the probabilities of recurrence of the same offense? Or, considered from the opposite angle: how far is it probable that a wanted criminal may be traced in the police records of a particular type of crime? Is it probable that a single person commits different sexual crimes? Are sex offenders likely to commit crimes unconnected with sex?

(a) *The frequency of relapse.* It is a well-known fact that for exhibitionists the rate of relapse is very high. For instance, of 35 examined in the Heidelberg Psychiatric Clinic in pre-war Germany, 17 had previously been convicted for the same misdemeanor. It is not surprising that Boeters in one case could record 40 penalties on an exhibitionist.

With sexual offenders against children, however, things are different. Of 60 such convicts in the Strafanstalt Moabit Prison in Berlin, only 15 were previously convicted of the same delict, although the penitentiary sheltered men of 19 to 40 years, whose crimes had been judged as especially

grave. Kort counted not more than 26 relapsing malingerers among 141 offenders against children. This kind of sexual delict is apparently more frequently an occasional slip than the symptom of a sexual perversion. Yet the figures prove that a considerable minority of these people have the tendency to commit the same crime again.

Only one of 30 prisoners convicted of rape or attempted rape (in the Strafanstalt Moabit Prison) had in his record a previous penalty for the same crime. Rape is usually either the product of an accidental complex of conditions, especially favored by mental crudeness and alcoholic intoxication, or a manifestation of *general swinishness*. It may happen that a gang of brutes accomplishes a series of such crimes: the "habitual rapist," however, is not a familiar figure among the inmates of prisons. Where, exceptionally, sadistic tendencies are so violent that they cause a persistent habit of raping, they may as well lead to sexual murder.

(b) *The commission of different sexual crimes by a single individual.* Several sexual crimes of different types are frequently found in the records of a single sexual offender. The combination, however, of various offenses in the same person are not arbitrary ones. They depend rather on the personalities in question. If a young moron, perhaps under the influence of alcohol, feels a strong sexual impulse, he will attack at random children, young women, old women, or perhaps even cows or sheep. And also those

débauchés who always are on the chase after new means of excitement may pass from one sexual violation to any other.

We examined a man in his fifties who had committed incest with his daughters of about 10 to 12 years. He was lazy, indulged in alcohol, and ill-treated his family. Later on he was suspected—but could not be convicted—of having killed a little girl. In court it came out that years ago he had compelled his wife to have intercourse with a young tenant while the husband looked at them through a key-hole.

The typical exhibitionist usually does not commit any other sexual delict except perhaps indecent acts with children. Being rather more timid than brutal, even in those acts he has no tendency to violence. Most of the exhibitionists are habitual onanists and many of them are not confident of their sexual power, so they avoid the crucial test. *On the other hand, experience has taught them that imagination gives them greater lust than the reality of sexual intercourse. The sequence of exhibitionism and rape in the records of an offender is, therefore, very improbable.* Acts of brutal violence can hardly be expected from any sexually infantile aggressors against children; their sexual approaches have rather the character of a childish play or of a mutual love-affair.³

³ We know several exceptions to the general rule. In Chicago during the winter of 1940-1941, a young man of about 21 years, with a record of several arrests for exhibiting himself before women, raped and brutally murdered a woman of 60. Three months after the murder he was seen by officers sitting in a car exposing his genitals to passing women. Arrested by them, he later confessed the murder. On a previous occasion he had made an improper exposure before two women passing along the street together. He was an habitual onanist who masturbated at least four or five times a week. Immediately prior to the murder, he had been drinking in several saloons and had been dancing with prostitutes who frequented the taverns. He later explained that in this manner he be-

The counterpart is the vigorous young lad with strong sexual impulses and poor self-control who, especially under the influence of liquor, sets loose his primitive instincts against older school girls as well as young and adult women, but has no interest in merely exposing his genitals.

But two other categories of individuals with tendencies to various sexual crimes comprise the most dangerous individuals: (1) clumsy morons or degenerate drunkards with suddenly rising sexual impulses but without corresponding inhibitional capacity; and (2) cold-hearted libertines with sadistic trends. Both of them may assault children as well as grown-up females. The former do not care whether or not they seriously injure their victims; the latter torture or hurt intentionally.

(c) *The connections between sexual crimes and other forms of criminality.* The most important connection between sexual crimes and other forms of criminality is based on the existence of so-called "polytrope" criminals, i.e., persons who are likely to commit delicts of any kind. They are the frequent products of constitutional deficiencies such as unsteadiness, sudden-

came sexually excited, and when he left the last saloon and walked down a street at 4 A. M., he saw a woman ahead of him. He caught up with her, took out his penis and suggested sexual intercourse. She told him to leave her alone. Instead, he knocked her down, fracturing her jaw-bone. As she lay on the cold ground in a semiconscious state, he realized—he said—that she could later identify him, so he took out a knife and with its short blade stabbed her 18 times in the neck and chest. Tremendously excited sexually, he only then did attempt to force his erected membrum into her body, having an ejaculation before he could enter.

(Certainly it has to be admitted that the nature of this evil-doer must have been much different from that of the average exhibitionist.)

ness of impulses, shallowness of feelings, inability to foresee consequences—all combined with unfavorable educational factors. Most of them come from disordered homes of low social standards; not so few, however, are the "black sheep" of well-to-do families. Often they glide down slowly and are more and more estranged from regular social life by such circumstances as vagrancy, misuse of alcohol, association with other criminals, and long detention in prison. In their records we find a variety of crimes including sex offenses.

Apart from these "polytropes" only the emotional offenses involving physical injury, etc., are closely related to sexual delicts, namely to those which betray a continuous or temporary lack of self-control of the primitive impulses.

Violators, especially when unable to accomplish the sexual conquest, sometimes seize the opportunity to rob their victims. On the other hand the common delicts of larceny, embezzlement, fraud, etc., have no specific relationship to sexual offenses.

We may mention as an exception the case of the "night-ghost": About ten years ago certain regions of Berlin were stricken by the fear of a man who nightly burglarized first-floor apartments, stole valuables and assaulted lone women in their beds. As far as we remember he did not actually use great force; he only succeeded by surprise and fright, paralyzing his victims. Sometimes he excused himself for having been nasty. He was a clever and witty fellow. Though convicted, he stubbornly continued to deny guilt. We had the impression that the adventure itself gave him sexual stimulus.

(d) *Sexual murder*. The combination of sexual crime with the killing of the victim may be discussed on a somewhat larger scale. To explain things clearly we must differentiate between

several offenders: (1) The sexual aggressor who, in overcoming the resistance of his victim, kills her carelessly but not intentionally; (2) the violator who, after the act, kills the dangerous witness; (3) the sadist who wants only to torture the female partner but does not care to avoid deadly injuries; and (4) the sadist who finds lust in the act of killing his victims.

As an example of the first category we mention a crude boy of low intelligence whom we first examined when he was indicted as a sexual aggressor against children. He had acquired gonorrhoea in the time between the delicts and the examination, and had fractured an ankle by leaping from a railway-bridge to escape arrest. A few years later he violated and killed a little girl while he was intoxicated.

The following case is a striking example of the second category. A strong man assailed on a highway a girl of about 14 years. Having in vain implored him to refrain from his intention, she eventually begged him to give her time to pray that God might forgive the great sin she would be compelled to commit. Touched by her innocence, the man overcame his desire and left her alone. But then it occurred to him that the girl might denounce him—so he returned and slaughtered her. She was found with her throat cut but without any signs of sexual misuse.

Only the last two categories can strictly be called "sexual murder." A series of sexual mass-murders in Germany after the first world-war gave the sad occasion to very comprehensive experiences about the most dangerous group of sexual criminals. Scientific reports have been published on all of them: Haarmann, Grossmann, Schumann, Kürten, Böttcher, and Seefeld (The late Johannes Lange has made, on three of them, convincing remarks which, in our opinion, are pertinent to the other cases too.)

Haarmann and Seefeld were sodomists who used young boys and killed them, partly to remove dangerous wit-

nesses and partly to procure for themselves sadistic excitement. Grossmann found his lust in torturing women, some of whom came thus to their deaths. Schumann was convicted of murder in 6 cases, attempted murder in one case, murderous arson in one case, attempted rape in 4 cases (two of the women he shot were found with bared genitals). Böttcher strangled a girl, shot a woman, and later told the psychiatric expert that he had ravished the corpses (a declaration corresponding well with his general behavior). Kürten created a period of terror in the region of Duesseldorf, killing scores of women and children to satisfy sadistic impulses.

Let us compare the records of the psychiatric expert on all of these men.

Each one had a potentially dangerous heredity. Grossmann's father was an irascible drunkard, and his brother died in prison while paying a penalty for a sexual crime. Schumann's father was a sexual criminal and a drunkard. Haarmann's father was a woman-hunter, and one brother committed a sexual crime. Kürten's father was convicted of incest with his own daughter, and one sister is said to have solicited her brother for sexual intercourse. Seefeld's mother lived a disorderly life, and all of his brothers and sisters were divorced. Böttcher's father died early as a drunkard, and his mother had spasmodic fits.

None of the six men grew up in an orderly and healthy atmosphere. The Haarmanns were cranky and envious against one another; Grossmann had to endure the bad behavior of his father;

Kürten's father was so brutal that the boy often ran away; Schumann's father used to beat the little child so recklessly that the grandmother felt obliged to take it into her own home, but after a few years she had to abandon it to a step-father not much better than the father; Seefeld, whose parents were separated when he was 11 years old, was badly brought up by a dull step-mother; and Böttcher was illtreated by a stepfather who restlessly moved from one place to another.

Only Schumann had a regular vocational instruction. Seefeld was trained as a locksmith but did not complete his education. Kürten followed up his school-days as a thief, and so did Böttcher, except during a period of compulsory education. Haarmann in his youth came to a military training institute but was dismissed on account of "epilepsy."

All of them had, early in their lives, strong sexual impulses and sometimes practiced them in various abnormal ways. Böttcher indulged in onanism from the 12th year on up to the 20th; he had sexual intercourse with cattle and when 16 and 17 years of age assaulted two little girls. Kürten, from his 14th year on, committed sodomy, and when only 15 he had already experienced orgiastic feelings stabbing sheep and strangling a little girl. When 18 years of age, Seefeld not only had homosexual relationships, but became the father of an illegitimate child from a 16-year old girl who later testified that he used to ask for intercourse in the most various positions and even in the mouth. Of Grossmann we know

only that he had early and strong sexual impulses and in his youth committed sodomy, attacked children and committed rape. Haarmann, when 18 years old, was convicted of sexual intercourse with boys. Schumann, too reticent to unveil facts of his sexual life, attempted, while engaged to be married, several rapes against other women, and in marital intercourse often behaved "like a beast."

All these sexual murderers committed other offenses also: Schumann when 18 years old appeared to live the life of a robber. He set a barn on fire, committed a theft and shot a woman. (The judge, through the lack of an understandable motive, took the last offense for an accident!). Grossmann began his criminal career with a series of larcenies and physical attacks. Böttcher was a thief and a highwayman. Kürten started with embezzlement, larceny and four arsons. Seefeld began with physical injury. He later on lived as a vagabond and had three penalties for mendicancy. Haarmann was convicted of ill-treatment against his own father, and made money by selling the clothes of his victims.

All of them manifested a great brutality as soon as they committed their first crimes: Kürten strangled; Seefeld threatened little girls to cut off their genitals with a knife; Schumann, as we have said, shot; Grossmann recklessly hurt; Haarmann and Böttcher from the beginning killed without any hesitation.

None of them betrayed genuine positive feelings towards other persons, except the sexual desires. They made

no friends; they did not care about relatives. Seefeld and Kürten, though married, lived only for short times with their wives. Only Schumann seemed to be more attached to his wife, but his behavior towards her was uncalculable, sometimes cold and repulsive, even brutal. This man, perhaps the strangest personality of the whole group, had been a good child, very sensitive and compassionate; he proved in pubescence strikingly unsociable and resentful and apparently grew up to hate mankind. Some of his murderous acts are explainable as preparations for sexual misuse of the corpses, or as vengeance against persons who formerly had prevented him from doing evil; *an important motive, however, seems to have been that he could not stand to see other people being harmlessly happy.*

Not one of these sexual murderers was feeble-minded. On the contrary, most of them had more than average intelligence. They were sly and clever and endowed with excellent memories. Haarmann looked quickly through every situation and was a wonderful actor: he appears to have played successfully at different times the epileptic, the idiot and the hebephrenic insane. Kürten, too, in prison was able to make the best of every situation and proved to be a good judge of man. Schumann was during the day-time a quiet and industrious worker—nobody imagined his nightly crimes. Grossmann, in spite of 15 years spent in the penitentiary, had no difficulty in earning his living and a surplus by peddling. He, as well as Seefeld, knew

how to play the role of a friendly, honest man; the former that of a compassionate protector of girls who were feeling cold and hungry and whom he fed and took to the movies and eventually to his den—the latter that of a very poor but unpretentious and contented man.

These common features in individuals otherwise very dissimilar form a striking pattern probably typical of the habitual sexual murderer.

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS

In drawing practical conclusions of the facts here discussed, we are fully aware that every case has its own problems requiring many-sided considerations. No rigid rules but only general hints must be given.

As to how to locate a sexual criminal, not only the category of the offense, but also the peculiar behavior of the offender has to be given serious thought. The more successfully the investigator recognizes the type of the criminal in question, the easier he may trap him. *It is of no use to suspect everyone who has formerly committed any sexual offense as guilty of the sexual crime in question.*

If an habitual exhibitionist has to be located, he frequently will be found among exhibitionists formerly convicted of the same indecency; hereby it is helpful to know that an exhibitionist often prefers one certain place to expose himself. Those men who act with a special cautiousness may be suspected to belong to the classes of higher social standard. It is of interest to note that the number of undergrad-

uates, scholars, and officials in this category of offenders surpasses by far the proportional share of the same vocations in the general population.

Regarding offenders against children, one should remember that the majority have not committed this type of crime before. These first offenders are frequently inexperienced and sometimes feeble-minded young fellows, and may be notorious for occasional excesses in liquor. On the other hand, they may be middle-aged or older men in the neighborhood of the crime, sexually infantile men who are popular with the nearby children and who have adopted superficially paternal attitudes toward a number of the neighborhood boys or girls, frequently giving away candy, money or little gifts.

If the aggressor were a recidivist, the method of luring the child and the kind of the indecencies committed in a particular case may give a hint as to the person of the aggressor: habitual criminals usually stick to their own stabilized schemes; therefore the mark of a previously known offender may be recognized in the features of a fresh crime. If a sexual offender has approached children in a soft and cautious manner, his name can well be found in the files of notorious exhibitionists. On the other hand, a brutal aggressor of children may have records of rape or physical injury or may be a notorious drunkard.

Lieutenant Otto Erlanson of the Sex Offense Bureau of the Chicago Police Department has reported that sex criminals usually commit their offenses in their own or in an adjacent neigh-

borhood.⁴ We may add that a very great number of sexual offenses against children are committed in the offender's own home. If a child who has become deflorated or sexually infected refuses to mark the culprit or apparently tells a lie, the offender may primarily be sought in the child's own lodging house and in those usually visited by the child; he may be a near relative, a subtenant of the family, a tenant of another apartment in the same house, a dealer running single-handed a shop in the neighborhood, a shoemaker who used to mend the family's shoes, or the brother or father of the child's girlfriend.

Men guilty of rape or attempted rape frequently have records of other violent acts, sexual as well as non-sexual. Somewhat typical representatives are the physically vigorous inebriates and inexperienced morons. For sexual assaults on highways or

lonely paths, vagrant "polytrope" criminals may be suspected. The latter category almost exclusively occurs if a beggar assails a solitary woman or child in their own apartment.

In cases of apparently genuine murder the investigator may try to find out men who correspond as fully as possible with the pattern above described: early and usually manifold criminality, sexual offences connected with brutality and cleverness; unsociability except for sexual relations; instability; unfavorable educational conditions; and dangerous hereditary taints.

May we briefly summarize as follows: *The "sexual offender" as a common type does not exist. There are, however, many different types of sexual offenders, some of the most remarkable of which we have just considered. Knowledge of those types is necessary not only for the sake of good judgment and the prevention of crime, but also for the task of tracing the individual sexual offender.*

⁴ See J. Criminal L. and Crim. (Police Science Section) 31 (3):339-342 (1940).